food, seed, and chicken feed were met, 58 per cent of the crop remained to be sold off for cash (Janlekha 1955:53). Almost every inhabitant was engaged in commercial rice farming. A few teachers, craftsmen, and traders, alone did not farm. Plantings of early and late varieties in different plots spread the toil. Cooperative work or some local hired help assured adequate labor forces at the needed moment. Nevertheless, two heavy work seasons dominated the rice cycle. The first of these, June through August, involved soil preparation and transplanting of the seedlings in long straight rows. In the second season, November into February, the rice was harvested, brought home for threshing and winnowing, then sold or stored. The straw was stacked as buffalo feed. People were anxious during the preparatory and planting season, for rains were fickle and the planning and timing had to be exact. Work was hard and almost grim. Harvest, though perhaps more of a physical strain because people cut the stalks by day, then threshed and winnowed far into the night, was gay and so less taxing emotionally, for the crop had safely passed through the threats of flood, drought, and pest, and "cash was in sight." Haste was necessary because each plot of rice had to be harvested within three or four days of its maturity, and because at that season the canals were drying up rapidly, raising the possibility not only that human backs and not boats would move the crop, but that the buyers themselves could not get their boats in to take the main portion to the urban markets. Then a farmer might have to wait until the canals filled again in June to sell his rice and get his money. Since during the busy seasons everyone from age 16 on up was taken up with farming, the cooking, child care, and other chores were carried on by the aged and the very young. These work days taxed to the limit the strength of all men, women, and even young people. Ten to 18 hours might be spent stooping to transplant or weed, or, at harvest, to cut the rice stalk close to the ground. There was a great deal of heavy lifting of seedling bundles or sheaves. The few professional masseurs in the area said they were kept on the run because of back complaints especially during the periods of heavy labor.

In the periods between these two seasons, tools were repaired, houses rebuilt, and ceremonies organized. Extra cash was earned in various ways. People kept very busy, though they did allow themselves more sleep.

The importance of women's role in agriculture is indicated by their virtual equation with men. In every step of rice-production women worked alongside men, plowing with the buffalo, planting, weeding, harvesting, repairing the dikes, hauling, etc. Only uprooting the seedlings was exclusively men's work (even this was done by women elsewhere in Thailand [Kingshill 1960:7]).

Besides the work in rice-fields, women dug and cleaned

close touch with each other's activities and needs. 621

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time. 621 844 592 844 476 593 [462]

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life 556 875 441

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable. [464] 556 511 178 369

What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with inadequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme, in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affiliated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

423 184 from Bang Chan, the figure is as high as 85 percent (Dobby 1950). In these terms, therefore, it is best to view the incidence of land tenancy in Bang Chan as largely a function of local, historical circumstances.

369 177 A final word should be said about Bang Chan's proximity and accessibility to Bangkok—the cornucopia of so much that is new, interesting, and desirable (if somewhat equivocally) to most Siamese peasants. It is clear that Bang Chan's closeness to the capital creates certain conditions that would not be present in a community situated, for example, 200 kilometers, instead of 31 kilometers, from the nation's largest city. Simply on practical grounds, this nearness to the city permits the villagers to take advantage of opportunities—economic, recreational, and religious—which those living in distant provinces can obtain only after serious consideration of the financial and psychological expenses involved: "Do I have shoes to wear in the city? Do they treat people from the provinces well? With whom will I stay? Do I have the train fare?" A Bang Chaner who visits the capital [494] does not have to make such financial or emotional commitments, since it is only a one hour, three and one-half baht (seventeen and one-half cents) bus ride back home, although many do share with their up-country cousins the peasant's apprehensions about city manners.

The attractions of Bangkok take several forms: off-season jobs, medical care, kinship ties, special schools, great market places, famed monasteries or fairs, and the many other places where one can go to have fun. A survey [484] conducted in Bang Chan during 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis 1957) indicates that 62 percent of all household heads in the village visited Bangkok more than twice during the year for just such purposes. (Twenty-one percent had not gone to Bangkok at all, and 23 percent had gone more than ten times.) Many villagers, particularly younger men, attracted by the promise 369 177 167 of regular wages, lighter work, and the bright lights of the city, leave Bang Chan with the hope that they will never have to return, although of course [464] many do. The Goldsen-Ralis survey reveals that 26 percent of their re- [701] spondents had lived in Bangkok for a year or more, although for most this was in fulfillment of military service.

369 177 181 Living in Bangkok is not something that is desired in and of itself. Bang Chaners are keenly aware of the disadvantages of city living—particularly its great expense and insecurity—and are impressed only by those individuals who have made a success out of their urban sojourn. Most would agree that a Bangkok coolie, for all his exposure to the wonders of the modern world, lives a considerably less attractive life than they do.

369 177 The frequent transit between Bang Chan and Bangkok,[8] however,

[207] [204] [871]

[8] Of less practical consequence than their direct personal experiences and word-of-mouth contacts, but not to be ignored, are the villagers' contacts with Bangkok by way of radio, newspapers, books, and of course by way of what their children bring

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

the village to find dependent relatives—siblings, cousins, nephews, nieces— who, unable to make a go of it elsewhere, are accepted into a relative's family, sometimes to the extent of eventually taking over the headship of the family. Sometimes, on the initiative and invitation of an elderly or lonely relative, an entire nuclear family will be asked to take over or share a household. Children of poor or "inconvenienced" families (where a new child is born before the first is weaned, where there are too many children for the mother to handle comfortably, where a youngster is simply being "troublesome") are adopted or "borrowed" by other villagers for varying periods of time. This is done preferably by relatives, sometimes by neighbors, and often, in the case of boys, by the monastery, where the children become hand-servants to the monks and are supposed to absorb, by a kind of osmotic process, righteous ways of behaving. (Of my three male life history informants, two were given over to relatives at the ages of two, the third at the age of eight; one spent his childhood with four different families, another with five families; one describes his adolescence as "wandering from place to place." The psychological implications of such displacement should not be underestimated.) On occasion, two independent nuclear families—almost always connected by some kinship tie—will join together for convenience to share cooking facilities, in which case they effectively become a single extended family. And in some cases, although rare, one will encounter adult children living in independent households but handing over their income to a parent, living in still another home, who disburses the proceeds when necessary.

On the other side, it is common practice in Bang Chan now for a husband to be away for four or five months at a time earning money in Bangkok, or during the dry season on a vegetable farm, returning home to visit his wife and children whenever opportunity permits, with or without funds. The wife may still maintain their household, but often returns to live with her own parents.[7] In a similar vein, although obviously more extreme, it is not unusual to find families in Bang Chan which have simply "disintegrated," as the villagers say. Much depends here on the circumstances of family members. Bang Chaners usually reserve the term "disintegrated" for families that no longer have the economic wherewithal or justification for staying together as functioning units. In these instances, family members simply go their separate ways, if possible back to their families of orientation or to other relatives, husbands perhaps into the monkhood, and the children to whomever will take them. Most frequently, "disintegration" is characteristic of very poor families, and in the minds of

[7] This pattern may be related to the old *corvée* labor pattern when able-bodied village men were away from their families for extended periods of time.

arbitrary, were it not for the Buddhist temples, a neighboring government-operated primary school, and a few small stores, all of which provide a center for the community. There the inhabitants paddle their boats for religious observances, their children attend school, and anyone with a few minutes gossips over a cup of coffee. These people, furthermore, speak of themselves when outside the community as coming from Bang Chan, and the temple familiarly called "Wat Bang Chan" helps outsiders to identify the particular area. 361 621

The community's 1600 inhabitants live in one of seven hamlets, each with an officiating headman who may offer some leadership to the neighborhood. Bang Chan has no political unity beyond the informal influence of the head priest at the temple, for administrative units of local government disregard its social and psychological coherence. On one side of the main canal headmen go a rough two miles to attend meetings with the District Officer, while their neighbors across the canal must spend half a day on the canal to reach the district offices which govern them. 161 621 634 624

As the survey results indicate, about 88 per cent of the households receive the major portion of their income from cultivating rice, though many of these men and women turn briefly to other occupations during the slack season. The remaining fraction is divided between persons engaged in trade as storekeepers or vendors and those in such service occupations as highway labor or school janitor. 621 243 434 443 464

A little less than half of the population owns the land or a portion of the land it works, the remainder renting from neighbors and landholders living away from Bang Chan. Though land becomes scarcer every year and its subdivision into small plots finer, land problems and landlord problems are not important concerns of the area farmers. Economic factors also grant higher status within the community to land holders than to renters and the landless. So also age and religious piety bring respect. Yet social structure articulates flexibly enough to afford a young renter of good reputation and energy a decent hearing at a meeting, and indeed, he might carry his point in a group of wealthy landholders. Two or three times in past generations young men have moved from thatched houses in Bang Chan to high government positions in Bangkok through fortunate connections that enabled them to attend leading schools, as well as through their own industry. People merely invoke the Buddhist concept of accumulating merit in present and past lives through good deeds when they comment on the rise of such persons, for with sufficient merit all is possible. Thus regularity in the socio-economic order becomes a moderate level of probability admitting many exceptions. 423 427 554 621 [555] [771]

Contacts Outside the Community

Radio and movies provide indirect contact between the community and the outside world and seem to encourage the acceptance of urban behavior patterns. (See Table 16.) In addition, however, there is direct contact between the community and the capital city. The inhabitants commute to Bangkok to sell their products or to visit. Some go to the city to live for a time, to attend the city's schools, to work as laborers or to serve in the military or police force. For example, about a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) reported that during the year preceding the survey they had been to Bangkok ten or more times. About a third of the sample (35 per cent) have lived in Bangkok, mostly for the purpose of working there. On the other hand, almost half the sample (45 per cent) have never been to the Don Muang Airport; and over two-thirds (69 per cent) have never been to the Annual Agricultural Fair.

One would expect that such direct exposure to the urban life and values of the capital city, for example, might be linked with greater readiness to try out improved methods of agriculture either because exposure to urban life may mean exposure to more information, or, less directly, may mean exposure to the urban values of economic self-advancement and experimentation. And there is, indeed, a relationship between exposure to the capital city and use of the motor. The two factors are not linked for all the residents--the relationship is a conditional one. That is, it is mainly among illiterate farmers where urban contact is associated with readier acceptance of the motor.

TABLE 19. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WHO HAVE GREATER CONTACT WITH THE CITY ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

"This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"

Literacy	Never or once (Proportion who own or use the motor)	Twice or more (Proportion who own or use the motor)
Illiterate	44% (40)	58% (51)
Literate	83 (36)	88 (83)

* Male farmers only

In the same way, there is a similar conditional link between use of the motor and wider contacts beyond the horizons of Bang Chan. Visits to the airport and to the agricultural fair, for example, (both centers of contact with urban culture) are associated with use of the motor among illiterate farmers. If the farmer can read and write, on the other hand, he is just

b. IF YES: What various things do you do with the polishings? 125

1.	DA as mill not used	3
2.	Used for feed	99
3.	Used for food	—
4.	They are sold	3
5.	Other, specify_____	3
6.	Unascertainable	2

[243]

c. ASK ALL: During this past year, did your family eat home-milled rice entirely, in major part, in minor part, or not at all? [262]

7.	Entirely	5
8.	For major part	51
9.	For minor part	78
X.	Not at all	199

20.a. As you know, some people have had plenty of chance to learn to read, while others have hardly had any chance. How about you yourself? Are you able to read the Thai language, or haven't you ever had the opportunity to do any reading? [212]

1.	Yes, can read	224
2.	No	109

b. IF R CAN READ: Would you say it is hard for you to read, or easy, or about medium?

3.	Hard	15
4.	Easy	85
5.	Medium	124
6.	Unascertainable	—

c. ASK ALL: Now how about writing? How is it with you yourself? Are you able to write Thai, or haven't you ever had the opportunity to do any writing?

7.	Yes, can write	227
8.	No	106

d. IF R CAN WRITE: How much writing do you do? Are you able to sign your name, or can you also write a letter?

9.	Sign name only	63
X.	Can write letter	163
0.	Unascertainable	1

21.a. Suppose there were a factory in Minburi paying 20 ticals per day. Would you apply for a job to work in this factory? [464]

7.	Yes	162
8.	No	159
9.	Unascertainable	12

b. Do you think that someone else from your house would apply for a job there?

X.	Yes	105
Y.	No	211
0.	Unascertainable	17

58

125
[484]

57.b. IF R DID NOT GO DURING LAST MONTH: How many months ago was the last time you went to Minburi?

7.	Within last 3 months	34
8.	More than 3 months ago	25
9.	Never been to Minburi	1
X.	Unascertainable	3
—	No Answer	4

58. This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok, or didn't you go at all?

0.	None	71
1.	Once	56
2.	2 to 4 times	90
3.	5 to 9 times	28
4.	10 times or more	87
5.	Unascertainable	1

59. In your life, how many times have you been to Don Muang Airport, or haven't you been there at all?

6.	None	148
7.	Once	58
8.	2 to 4 times	72
9.	5 times or more	52
X.	Unascertainable	3

60. In your life, how many times have you been to the annual agricultural fair or the Agricultural Experimental Station at Bang Khan, or haven't you been there at all?

0.	None	227
1.	Once	47
2.	2 to 4 times	45
3.	5 times or more	14
4.	Unascertainable	

61. In your life, have you ever been beyond the boundaries of Thailand, or not?

X.	Yes	13
Y.	No	318
0.	Unascertainable	2

62.a. Have you ever lived in Bangkok, or not?

1.	Yes	117
2.	No	216
—	Unascertainable	

[464]

b. IF YES: What various duties or jobs did you have when you lived in Bangkok?

4.	Soldier	37
5.	Police	10
6.	Student	22
7.	Artisan	1
8.	Laborer	23
9.	Other, specify _____	33
0.	Unascertainable	2

60

125 64.a. IF YES: At what age did he leave BO?

[166]	1. Below 15 years	8
	2. 15 to 19 years	28
	3. 20 to 29 years	50
[592]	4. 30 years or more	5
	5. Unascertainable	6

d. IF YES: For how long has he (she, they) been gone from BO?

6. Less than one year	12
7. 1 to 4	42
8. 5 to 9	19
9. 10 years or more	19
X. Unascertainable	

• [464] e. IF YES: What various duties or jobs does he (she, they) do in Bangkok?
[463]

1. Housewife	17
2. Unskilled laborer	19
3. Skilled laborer	33
Armed forces	17
Service	9
Employee	5
4. Other (retired, selling things)	2
5. Unascertainable	4

[166] f. IF YES: During the last year, have you seen this person(s) several times, once, or not at all?
[593]
[602]

9. Several times	65
X. Once	16
Y. Not at all	8
O. Unascertainable	3

g. IF YES: Does he (she, they) make regular remittances to this house?

X. Yes	31
Y. No	56
O. Unascertainable	5

[207] 65. Do you listen to the radio regularly, daily, occasionally, seldom, or never?

6. Regularly-daily	45
7. Occasionally	66
8. Seldom	148
9. Never	60
— Unascertainable	14

[525] 66.a. Do you play the lottery regularly, occasionally, seldom, or never?

1. Regularly	20
2. Occasionally	54
3. Seldom	220
4. Never	38
5. Unascertainable	—
— No Answer	1

b. IF REGULARLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR SELDOM: Suppose you were to win the second prise of 40,000 baht. What various things would you do with this money?
(See code)

The Family

592 Although the family is the smallest of social institutions, it occupies first rank in importance. For the purpose of this study family is defined as a group of persons who form a household under one head including parents, children, servants and other dependents. It is a social unit for both consumption and production. In Bangchan, members of the same family, with the possible exception of piece-workers who have the privilege of eating with their employers only during periods of certain kinds of work, usually share the same meal although not necessarily at the same time. Physically able members are expected to contribute to family work although some may also do extra jobs for their own pocket money. In all cases family work has priority over the extra job, and in most cases members turn over all or part of the earning thus realized to the family head. Although most families have separate dwellings, there are instances of two families sharing the same dwelling but having separate cooking arrangement. Such cases are rare, however. According to our operational definition, then, a member of a biological family who has hired himself out as regularly hired laborer ceases to be a member of his own biological family and becomes a member of his employer's family. Piece workers, on the other hand, although they may occasionally eat with their employers, still retain membership of their biological family if they still live with them. Finally, people who live in the same dwelling may not belong to the same family if they

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families
592 were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the
621 last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration
[423] or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that
[464] six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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423
464

Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegration:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexation:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 villages, and six in villages within a distance of from four
592 to fifteen miles from Bangchan. These seventeen families,
621 whose locations were known, were engaged at the time of the
166 study in the same occupations they had been when they were in Bangchan -- either farm operating or farm laboring. Our investigation, however, covered only the whole family as a unit -- that is, we cannot say that every single individual constituting these seventeen families when they moved out of
• [469] Bangchan was doing farm work in his new location. Only one case was known in which the family head got a permanent job as a janitor in Wat Makasan Primary School in Bangkok. This man was nevertheless commuting regularly between his farm home in Bangplee and his office in the suburb of Bangkok. His taking up a new job was thus a question of an individual member, not of the family as a whole.

It is not likely that the ten families whose locations were not known to us would take up new occupations in Bangkok. If they did work in Bangkok, they should pay some visits to Bangchan at least during festival time or family re-union occasioned by ordination or cremation, and their presence in the village would certainly be known to us. Besides, we were in constant contact with the core of a group of young men who went to work in Bangkok and who knew one another's whereabouts fairly well, and no information about these ten families was available from this source either. Our impression was that they were doing farm work in some villages not too close to Bangchan.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 different types of separation which will be described individually as follows:
532
621

Case 1: This involved the two sons who inherited landed property from his father described in Case 2 for the disintegration of the family, and in fact this was the first Bangchan family we met in 1948. At that time the elder brother, then age 37, was a widower and was courting a woman in another village along the Minburi Road. His work in road construction and maintenance (the Minburi Road) gave him a good excuse for continued absence from home, leaving his two daughters and three sons under the care of his younger brother who was the family head. Just before the 1949 census [527] [464] was made, he married the woman and once again became settled down. Meanwhile the younger brother got a job in road construction. With regular monthly cash income, he took to drinking and established himself as one among the few notorious dipsomaniacs in the village. This was intolerable to the elder brother who finally moved his nuclear family out to their new home just across the road.

Case 2: In 1949, an unmarried woman was living in an 'extended' family headed by a son of her elder sister. The combined landed property of the family was 67 rai of rice land, 40 rai of which was a share of the woman and her aged mother who was also living in the family. Some time before the 1953 census was made the woman and her mother moved out to form a separate household. The reason for the separation was not quite clear. It was assumed, however,

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 that these two women were happier living by themselves than
592 with their junior relatives.
621

[586] Case 3: A married couple were living in 1949 with the wife's parents. They were later separated, the husband leaving his former wife with her parents. In the 1953 census the man appeared in KY7 list as head of a one-person household.

Case 4: In 1949, a woman appeared in the census as wife of a family head in KY6. In that same year she left him and lived as wife with another man in KY8. A few years after, she left this second man again. She then appeared in the 1953 census as family head of a family of six including her three children and her aged parents.

Case 5: In 1949, a man of 47 was head of a laboring family of nine in KY, including his wife, three adult off-
[464] spring and four young children. Later in that year he left
[586] the family and hired himself out as a regular laborer to a farm operator with whom he worked for two years. He then left the village for a year after which he returned to work as regular hired laborer for another operator for almost a year and a half. In the 1953 census he appeared as head of a one-person household in KY6. Our records show that he was a diligent worker, excellent fisherman, averse to sweet cookies, but very fond of liquor. When asked why he did not go back to his family in KY8, he replied "The larger the family you have, the more trouble you get. I have more fun living alone."

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

59 the establishment of a new family, virtually a new farm. It must be noted in this connection, however, that not all new families started outwith financial resources. There are circumstances like incongenial relationship between the dependent couple and their parents or other members of the family, tight financial situation of the old family, or extreme optimism on the part of the young couple themselves that brought about premature fission.

243 The role of the family becomes more outstanding when
433 the following features of rice farming are considered:
59
[423] 1. In Bangchan, as elsewhere in the rice producing areas of Thailand, a farm means rice land available for the family to till because farm income depends more on rice acreage than anything else.

2. An operator is generally not in a position to reallocate his resources in order to obtain higher income. Usually he does not, for example, put in more labor to get a better crop, for crop under existing technology would not increase with more labor than normally used. He does not put in fertilizer, for it is not certain, in his thinking, that profit is assured in so doing. He does try to improve his rice strains for greater yield, however.

[444] 3. The only way to increase income from rice with no change in technology (other than improving strains), then, is to increase acreage utilizing the same amount of family labor. This is the case, as we shall see in a later chapter on farm organization and management, because of the existing under-employment of family labor.

novice; there were noticeable increases in those for farm laborers and traders, and a slight increase in that for investors, which were offset by a marked decrease in figures for farm operators and slight drops in those for the professional and home enterprisers. In order to understand these changes in the occupational structure of the village, more information on some of these occupation than that given in our operational definitions at the beginning of this chapter is necessary.

Farm operation is a traditional way of life in the village. The primary motive is to secure enough rice for consumption. A secondary motive is to have cash from sale of surplus rice to buy goods that are not produced locally.

Farm laboring as a profession is limited to the poor. Farm laborers, occupying the lowest status in the village, are the most unstable and socially disintegrated group. They are not fully employed even during the work seasons of the year because there are too many of them in the locality. Thus, they exist in the village not because of demand for their work but because they have no opportunity for other occupations.

There were twenty-one families that were classified as traders in 1953. Of these, nine were permanent storekeepers, and twelve were peddlers selling food stuffs from door to door. Stores were situated at strategic places in the village -- two at the crossing of Minburi Road and Bangchan Canal which is the natural entrance into the village,

178 finally, for a few families, took precedence over rice
463 growing. The relative importance of these new occupations remained low, however, since only a few families were needed to meet the village requirements for such services.

434 The establishment of the primary school some thirty
647 years ago opened up new jobs as teachers and janitors for
875 some educated villagers who were given preference over out-
[372] siders. It should be noted, nevertheless, that at the beginning the primary school teachers were not considered as regular officials and their pay was as low as six baht a month during the prewar years. Even during the war, they did not get as proportionately large a cost-of-living raise as did other regular officials. It was only after the war that they were made regular officials and that their pay rose almost a hundred times to 450 to 550 baht a month with provision for a steady raise to more than one thousand baht
[48] a month. This new occupation in public service also increased with the extension of the central government employment into the rural areas and with improved transportation facilities which permitted an individual to commute daily between his office in Bangkok and his home in Bangchan. Thus, a Bangchan resident is now serving as an educational supervisor in the nearby Minburi District and a few others are on the regular payroll of the government-owned Bangkok Wharf.

*243 With the background knowledge of the situation of
• 464 Bangchan farm laborers previously described in mind, we may
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 464 621 463 hypothesize that the presence of farm laborer families in a rice growing village indicates a condition of land scarcity. This is to be distinguished from the presence of farm laborer families in intensive farming areas such as the truck gardening villages along the Damnernsaduag Canal and plantation villages in Cholburi where the marginal product of labor, even with the same crude implement, is much higher than that in the non-intensive rice growing areas. Usually, there are farm laborers in any commercial rice growing region, but they consist of members of farm operator families with excess family workers who work for their own lampai. With low marginal product of labor, the demand for extra labor outside the family is not great and is highly seasonal in rice growing villages, resulting in extremely low total income for farm laborers. Piece-working is thus only good as a subsidiary income for an under-employed farm operator family, and certainly not as the main source of income for any family. Farm laborer families such as those existing in Bangchan are indigenous and are the outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent in any land. These people prefer to remain in the home village, willing to accept meager income from piece-work which is perhaps the only type of job they could get in the village, in the meantime trying to eke out as much as possible from what nature has to offer in the form of fish or uncultivated aquatic plants. The [161] [178] abrupt rise of farm laborer families in Bangchan from nine

243 per cent in 1949 to thirteen per cent in 1953 suggests that
464 the problem of population pressure on land has become more
621 acute, although it may also indicate changes in the cost
161 structure of rice production which will be discussed in
178 Chapter VI.

494 Concluding the discussion of this section, we may
463 say that rice growing is the core of the occupational struc-
222 ture of Bangchan around which other occupations rotate. It
226 is not uncommon that one family has several occupations,
[243] and in addition to income from these most families get "free"
food in the forms of fish and uncultivated aquatic plants.
This is the principal reason why families with apparently
no cash income still thrive.

433 It is conceivable that in years of poor rice crop
434 the family put more effort in the secondary occupations;
22 when such an attempt does not work out well -- for example,
[136] no work for manual labor and no capital for trivial trade --
an effort is made to obtain subsistence directly from nature.

In any event, every family in the village is engaged
[136] in fishing in varying degree. It is because of this fact
coupled with the fact that the village fish supply is de-
creasing that the problem of fish conservation is very
important.

243 Finally, the dynamic nature of rice farming, with
varying efforts on getting extra jobs and securing free food
outside the farm depending upon the increase and decrease
of the rice crop, suggests that the economy of any rice

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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It is seen, then, that the conventional system of land tenure classification is of very limited usefulness in areas where under-employment of farm labor is the general pattern. In an attempt to increase its usefulness mentioned above, a new classification system for land tenure is suggested in which the "owner-operator" category of the conventional system is sub-divided and arbitrary limits set to partially solve the problem of the third type of confusion.

The emphasis of the suggested method of classification lies in the functional aspect of each category. Thus, operators who own all the farm land they operate and still have some more land to rent out, an indication that they really have more than enough land for their farm operating occupation, are grouped under the landlord-operator category. This group resembles the conventional "owner-operator" in that in both the farmers do not rent in any more land, but differs from the latter in that they are really land saturated farmers while the latter may or may not be land saturated. Generally speaking, therefore, the new landlord-operator group are economically more secure than the conventional owner-operator group.

Operators who own all the farm land they operate but do not have any more land in the village or close neighborhood to rent out are grouped under the owner-operator category. To avoid confusion of the second two adjustments are made: (1) if a farmer owns two-thirds or more of his working area, he is included in this category; and (2) he

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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178 from certain points of view, or for certain purposes, or
427 subject to certain interpretations, they are to the indi-
494 vidual producer no different from any other money expense.
495 They do not arise as a surplus from his own operations;
they are a cost rigidly imposed upon him by the competition
of his rivals for the use of the rent-yielding property.
They figure in the same way as do wages of labor and the
interest of capital in his computations as to the most ad-
vantageous proportion between the factors and as to the most
*[128] advantageous scale of operations.[10] Naturally, we are now
dealing with contractual rent, which is the actual sum paid
by the tenant to the landlord for the use of the land, not
the hypothetical economic rent of the classical economists.

*243 The preliminary study revealed that there was in
• 464 1948 under-employment on some Bangchan farms in terms of
rai worked per worker. This was shown by comparing the
number of rai worked per worker on 94 farms employing no
hired laborer with the number of rai worked per worker on
*[128] 10 farms employing one or more hired laborers. On the farms
where only family labor was used, the figure was 9.4 ad-
justed rai per worker; while on those farms which used
regularly hired laborers along with family labor, the figure
was 13.4 adjusted rai per worker. (Each rai of transplanted
rice was counted as one adjusted rai, while each rai planted
by the less-labor-requiring broadcast method was counted as
one-half of an adjusted rai.) An assumption was made that

10. Edward Chamberlin, The Theory of Monopolistic Competition (sixth edition; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 22.

243 464 farm operators who hired regular laborers did so because full utilization of the effort of all the family workers was not adequate. This assumption would seem to be reasonable in view of the rather high cost of hiring such laborers. It was concluded, then, that some farms in the community were below optimum size for the number of workers in the family.[11]

243 464 161 178 This condition of farm under-employment is our basic assumption in discussing rent rates in Bangchan. With an increase in population in an area where farm operating is the core around which other less important occupations rotate, it may be reasoned that the aggregate demand for rice land in 1952 was at least as high as that in 1948 if not greater. As for the extent of under-employment of farm labor, it is interesting to note that the number of families directly engaged in rice farming, the farm operating and farm laboring families, was 256 in 1949 and 254 in 1953. With a constant supply of land (in the popular sense of the term), this more or less constant number of families directly engaged in rice farming indicated that the extent of farm under-employment in 1952 was just about the same as that in 1948. Although the average size of the family was found to be slightly smaller in 1953,[12] that slight decrease was certainly not large enough to materially affect the situation.

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11. Sharp et al., op. cit., p. 158.

[162] 12. The average size of the family was 5.7 in 1949, and 5.5 in 1953.

*243 434 464 As long as farm under-employment prevails and as long as limited opportunity for an alternative occupation is open to farm operators and farm laborers, we have reason to believe that the demand for rice land is rather inelastic. Another important factor contributing to this belief is the operator's concept of cost of producing paddy which seemed to include only explicit rent (actual amount paid to the [435] landlord) and cash operating expenses. Thus, while our calculation shows that the cost was 6.76 baht per tang or 215 baht per rai in 1948, the figure would be only 1.71 baht per tang or about 55 baht per rai according to the operator's concept of the cost.

*243 427 464 178 435 Under the conditions of farm under-employment, a tenant, part-owner, or even owner-operator is willing to pay high rent for an additional parcel because a larger worked area would cost him only the additional explicit rent and a small increase in seeds and materials. Unless the extra rented parcel is so large that extra labor must be sought outside the family, he does not have to pay any explicit wage at all for rice production in this additional parcel. Landlord-operators, on the other hand, are under a different situation, for they may rightly be considered land saturated and fully employed. Hence, the individual demand for working land on the part of a landlord-operator is relatively more elastic than those of the other farm operators. As rent rose from 6.2 tang per rai in 1948 to 8.1 tang per rai in 1952, it was observed in Table 26 below that

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

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427 landlord-operators were more sensitive to the change in
435 rent rates than were the other groups of farm operators.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation
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621 was mentioned in the preceding paragraph as one of the factors contributing to the inelastic nature of demand for working land. It was also mentioned in the section on the occupational structure of Bangchan that farm laboring families as existing in the village were indigenous and were an outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent
[443] in any land. Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation in the village was also suggested in the same section when it was mentioned that the only possible alternative -- petty trading which was actually taken up by some former farm operators -- was limited by the fact that villagers bypassed local traders and went to the nearby market town of Sinburi for major purchases and variety goods.

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465 Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation
569 <u>outside</u> the village, however, needs elaboration. It cannot be denied that wages in Bangkok, only twenty miles away and easily accessible through good road and bus services, were higher on the average than corresponding returns for labor in the village. It is important to note, however, that what will attract a villager to seek a job in Bangkok is not a higher <u>average</u> wage level in the city but a higher <u>marginal</u> wage there. Regarding the marginal wage, it is highly doubtful that a better condition exists in Bangkok.

369 have an opportunity for secondary education although some
87 of them have adequate financial support. This has a tre-
[464] mendous effect on job opportunity for farm people, for most firms and Government departments set Matyom VIII as minimum standard for even the lowest clerical job.

243 While farm children have a poor academic education,
369 they are compensated by a high degree of farm training which
464 includes not only the technique of rice growing but also the
868 use of basic equipment for manual labor and simple construction work. It has been observed that farmers are better qualified to do manual work than urban people. This aptitude, however, does not to any considerable extent minimize the farmer's disadvantage in making a living other than by farming. In the first place, compensation for manual work is generally lower than the pay for clerical jobs. Second, there are in the city more job opportunities for clerical work and other white-collar types than there are for manual work. Third, the white-collar jobs tend to be more or less permanent while the manual jobs tend to be somewhat seasonal, and the manual worker seldom has a "position" in the firm as does the white-collar worker.

To the extent that these three conditions remain true, it may be assumed that the type of academic education and practical training being given to Bangchan children will serve only to confine them to farming life rather than to give them opportunity for alternative occupations.

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465 178 ranging from 250 baht to 800 baht annually, and eight were paid in kind. There were two types of wages in kind, the fixed and the variable types. In the fixed type, which involved two laborers, each laborer was paid a fixed amount of 100 tang of paddy. In the variable type, which involved six laborers, one laborer received the product (paddy) from 3 rai specified at the beginning of the season, four received the product from 5 rai, and one from 6 rai.[3]

*128 464 178 In 1953, a farm hired laborer survey was made to include people in Bangchan who were known to have been hired laborers and who could be located at that time. The survey was intended to serve as a benchmark for a subsequent study of farm laborers in 1956-57. The work done in 1953 was therefore only preliminary and was concentrated in locating the hired laborers and recording such basic informations as age, sex, and their jobs and remunerations during the previous five years from 1949 to 1953. Materials on life history were also gathered, but they were still incomplete. Nevertheless, information thus received about their jobs and remunerations have shed much light on wage rates of hired laborers in the village, and these are shown in Table 33.

A few points must be made clear, however, before any generalization can be made from the figures in Table 33. First, the survey included 34 persons who were known to have been hired laborers in Bangchan during the period from 1949 to 1953. Second, the survey covered only the people who were living and could be located in Bangchan in 1953; thus

3. Sharp et al., op. cit., p. 157.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196]

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TABLE 33

ANNUAL WAGES OF HIRED LABORERS IN BANGCHAN AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD
Thailand, 1949-53

Year	Type of Wages*	Number of Laborers Reporting	Total Wage	Range	Average
1949	Cash wage	2	1600 baht	600-1000 bt	800 bt
	Kind, fixed	3	300 tang	100-100 tg	100 tg
	Kind, variable	2	9 rai	4-5 rai	4.5 rai
1950	Cash wage	4	3350 baht	400-1350 bt	838 bt
	Kind, fixed	7	600 tang	60-100 tg	86 tg
	Kind, variable	3	12 rai	3-5 rai	4.0 rai
1951	Cash wage	6	4400 baht	300-1200 bt	733 bt
	Kind, fixed	8	660 tang	50-110 tg	83 tg
	Kind, variable	3	12 rai	3-5 rai	4.0 rai
1952	Cash wage	10	8400 baht	600-1300 bt	840 bt
	Kind, fixed	7	630 tang	50-120 tg	90 tg
	Kind, variable	3	13 rai	3-5 rai	4.3 rai
1953	Cash wage	14	12000 baht	250-1150 bt	857 bt
	Kind, fixed	2	250 tang	100-150 tg	125 tg
	Kind, variable	2	6 rai	3-3 rai	3 rai

*Cash wage -- wage was paid in cash.
Kind, fixed -- wage was paid in fixed amount of paddy agreed upon at the beginning of the season.
Kind, variable -- wage was paid in paddy harvested from a specified area agreed upon at the beginning of the season.
In all these cases, laborers received in addition free board and lodging and two working suits, one at the beginning of the period of breaking the soil and another at the beginning of the harvesting season.

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178 some hired laborers who had left the village before the survey was started were not included, and so were some former hired laborers, especially those working as such in the earlier years, who might be living in the village but were not identified as former hired laborers. Third, of the 34 cases covered by the survey nine were persons of 20 years old or younger as of 1953. Naturally, these persons would not be considered as hired laborers in 1949 or even in 1950, for they would be too young then for the job. Besides, it was not necessary that all hired laborers should begin their job as soon as they had attained the proper age of say 18 years, for there were many factors militating against taking up the job at an early age, one of which was obligation to the family. As a matter of fact, two among our 34 laborers were obliged to quit their jobs because their parents wanted them to go back to the family and help in the farm work. One of these two laborers remained with the family for a yearin 1951, went back to work with his former employer in 1952, then emerged as a farm operator in 1953. The other quitted the job in 1952 and had since remained a family worker on the family's rented farm. Fourth, these 34 laborers varied in sex, age, farming experience,
464 and working ability. Fifth, the employers of these hired
466 laborers also varied in the degree of generosity exemplified by the amount of wage they agreed to give their employees and their relative willingness to observe the oral contract. This last point was important in Bangchan where the supply

464 for labor exceeded the demand for it. Some employers were
466 known to have been in the habit of cheating their employees. To cite an example, in March 1953 A, a young man of 16 who was known to be one of the best transplanters in the village, was hired by Operator B at 50 baht a month. After working for B for three months, A quit the job because his employer had paid him only his wage for the first month and there was indication that he would not receive any more for his labor from his employer. The author was informed about this whole business by A's father, Laborer C, who complained bitterly against B. That happened just before the beginning of the 1953 rice growing season. It was rather surprising that the author discovered that a month later Laborer C was hired by his son's former employer -- Operator B. Three months later, the author saw Laborer C working not on B's field but on some body else's farm on August 19. Upon inquiry, it was found that history had again repeated itself -- Operator B had just fired Laborer C and refused to pay him for his three months' work. "He ate more, but worked less, and always found asleep," complained Operator B, "Besides, he was in the habit of criticizing me behind my back."

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464 These five points were brought up in connection with
178 Table 33 in order to caution against two generalizations that might be made from a glance at the table. First, the number of laborers which appears to increase progressively from 1949 does not in any way indicate that more and more hired laborers have been employed in Bangchan. The figures

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*128 of the number of hired laborers represent only the case
= 464 study of hired laborers who were located in 1953 and were
178 interviewed on their past records. Statistically, therefore, it would be misleading to infer the actual employment of hired laborers in each year from those figures. Second, since the same population of hired laborers was used throughout, the effect of increasing age on individual wages must be considered. This does not mean, however, that there was a tendency for the average wage in our sample to rise with the years in relation to the standard wage; because not all of the 34 hired laborers started to work in the same year, rather some started before 1949, some started in 1949, and a good many started in each of the following year. There was also the effect of the generosity of the employer which is to be considered in relation to the wage level.

It would appear, nevertheless, that employment of hired laborers in any specified year can be measured by actual counting or simple random study done in each specified year. Although this is possible now that we have fairly well established our universe, there is still the problem of the hired laborers quitting their jobs before the end of the rice season
*128 which had occurred not infrequently. The problem of varying
464 wage rates due to working ability of the laborer on the one
465 hand and to the scrupulousness of the employer on the other may, however, be partially solved by using the maximum wage of each year as the basis for generalization. It is with such cautions that the figures as presented in Table 33 might

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465 be of any help in the understanding of the hired laborer situation in Bangchan.

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46 Let us now turn to the last group of farm laborers -- the piece-workers. These laborers receive their renumerations in the form of cash paid at the completion of each job contracted. Four types of farm work were observed to have involved the utilization of piece-workers -- uprooting of rice seedlings, transplanting, harvesting, and digging earth and mounding. Uprooting, the heaviest of all rice growing steps because seedlings must be pulled up in budle and smashed against the shank of the worker, was limited to adult male workers. Transplanting, on the other hand, was the lightest of all these steps involving the itlization of piece-workers and may be done by all kinds of workers including the young. Harvesting and digging and mounding are too heavy for the young but not for the adult female workers to participate, so they are usually performed by adult workers of both sexes.

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[435] It was found in the cost of production study in 1948 that 104 farm operators in Bangchan spent a total of 4,434 baht on uprooting done by piece-workers, 7,951 baht on transplanting, and 13,310 baht on harvesting, or an average per farm of 43 baht for uprooting, 76 baht for transplanting, and 128 baht for harvesting. Although digging and mounding is generally considered a part of farm work since it is done primarily in order to keep the buffalo shed above the water level as well as to improve the home garden; it is not

243 included in the items of cost of producing paddy, and there-
621 fore we do not have the figure for this item of farm expenses.
433

It was earlier mentioned in the section on occupa-
434 tional structure in Bangchan that most villagers regardless
464 of their main occupations did perform some piece-work for
621 either main or subsidiary incomes. It is almost impossible,
463 then, to give an exact figure of the number of piece-workers in any one year. For the purpose of this study, however, we may arbitrarily differentiate between the "professional" and the "non-professional" piece-workers. Here, the classification suffers much overlapping -- even more than does the classification of the occupation of the villagers, for we cannot even use the concept of the main source of income as a criterion in this connection. It was mentioned that farm laborers existed in Sangchan not because of demand for their work but because they have no opportunity for other occupations (page 100). Thus, if the main source of income was used as the criterion for differentiating the "professional" piece-workers, this group would include, for example, the old woman described in Case 7 page 69, who after having been left alone had managed to get a small income from transplanting which was the only type of farm work she could perform. The main source of income was also not a good criterion considering the fact that most piece-work was done by family members after their obligation to the family
467 farm had been fulfilled. In a desperate attempt to differ-
463 entiate the professional from the non-professional piece-workers

463 we finally settled on an arbitrary definition: a profes-
464 sional piece-worker was one who was ready most of the time to be called upon to perform piecework. This automatically eliminated the school children who were able to work only during the school recesses, the poor aged people who had to make a living in one form or another but who were able to perform only the lightest kind of piecework -- transplanting, and members of the well-to-do families who did some piecework for a small amount of pocket money only.

Adopting this arbitrary operational devinition, it may be assumed that professional pieceworkers include all members of the laboring families, small farm operating families, and other families of various occupations not financially well off, who are old enough yetnot too old to work and who are not currently engaged in some other kinds of work.

178 Table 34 shows work records of the 34 farm laborers
463 earlier mentioned. It is seen that of these 34 laborers,
465 only six had remained hired laborers throughout the periods of their farm work. These were Laborers 8, 9, 11, 22, 27, and 28. The other laborers were observed to have assumed various other statutes in the course of the five-year period from 1949 to 1953, namely, farm operator, pieceworker, family worker, and transient family worker. When these laborers were interviewed, they also gave estimates of their earnings from pieceworking as far as they could remember. In 1949, for example, piecework earning figures were available from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 203]

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TABLE 34

WORK RECORDS OF 34 SELECTED FARM LABORERS IN BANGCHAN AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD Thailand, 1949-53

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Laborer Number	Age in 1953	Working Status 1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
1	23	HL	HL	PJ	HL	FO
2	39	PW	PW	PJ	HL	HL
3	42	...	...	PW	PJ	HL
4	27	HL	HL	PW	PJ	PW
5	28	HL	HL	PJ	PJ	PJ
6	23	PJ	PJ	HL	HL	...
7	25	PW	...	HL	HL	HL
8	22	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
9	23	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
10	52	HL	HL	X	HL	HL
11	19	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
12	32	FO	FO	FO	FO	HL
13	33	PW	PJ	PJ	HL	HL
14	30	TFJ	HL	HL	PJ	PJ
15	35	PJ	HL	HL	HL	PW
16	20	...	TFJ	TFW	HL	...
17	45	PJ	PW	HL	PJ	PW
18	50	PJ	PW	HL	HL	HL
19	31	X	PJ	HL	...	HL
20	20	TFJ	TFJ	TFJ	FW	FJ
21	19	TFJ	TFJ	HL	HL	HL
22	17	...	...	HL	HL	...
23	21	TFW	TFJ	TFJ	TFJ	HL
24	23	TFJ	HL	HL	...	HL
25	17	...	...	TFW	...	HL
26	40	...	...	TFW	TFW	HL
27	26	...	...	...	HL	HL
28	18	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
29	63	PW	PW	X	PW	HL
30	30	PJ	X	X	PJ	HL
31	36	HL	HL	HL	FW	FW
32	16	...	...	...	FW	HL
33	23	PJ	HL	HL	HL	HL
34	20	...	HL	TFJ	HL	HL

Key to abbreviations:
FO -- farm operator
HL -- hired laborer
PJ -- pieceworker
F. -- family worker
TF. -- transient family worker
X -- farm laborer elsewhere
(...)-- not engaged in farm work

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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465 two laborers -- 1,000 baht for Laborer 7 and 900 baht for Laborer 30, averaging 950 baht for the year. In 1950, earnings of 500, 850, and 1,000 baht were reported respec-- tively by Laborers 18, 19, and 29, averaging 783 baht for the year. In 1951, only one case of 600 baht earning was reported by Laborer 5. In 1952, earnings of 600, 1,000, 1,000, 1,000, and 350 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 5, 14, 29, 30, and 32, averaging 790 baht for the year. In 1953, earnings of 2,000, 600, 1,000, and 300 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 4, 5, 14, and 15, averaging 975 baht for the year.[4]

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464 In the preceding paragraph, the term "transient family worker" was introduced. This refers to a person distantly or not at all related to the family in question who has been accepted as a family member with a dual status of half relative and half laborer. Since there is actually no genuine family tie, such member has been observed to come in and go out of the family rather freely as the occasion [465] may arise, and hence the term "transient". While staying with the family, the transient member is expected to participate in the family work that is appropriate to him in exchange for good, shelter, clothing, and occasional monetary gifts.

In 1948, we came across a case where an old man of 80 was living with one of the seven headmen of Bangchan as

4. Table 53 gives an idea of the meaning in real terms of these incomes.

592 a transient member of the family. This was rather unusual,
464 however. The pattern was that a transient member was
[561] accepted when he is rather young. If he was quite mature,
he might also be accepted; but the expressed motive of the
592 accepting family would then be somewhat different. When
465 approached by a mature prospective transient member, the
464 family head would most probably say that he could not afford to keep a hired laborer but he would be glad to let the man or woman stay with him as a member of the family, and that they might as well "share in the food, and share in the work".

It has been observed that transient family workers received much less from the family than the standard wage
[435] of hired laborers. While the latter received an annual wage of 1,000 baht or the crop from 5 rai, the former might be given only 50 or 100 baht a year. To farm operators of moderate or large rice farms, transient family workers were certainly an economic advantage. It was quite natural that these operators would try to keep them in the family as long as possible. Among the several methods observed were the following: (1) adoption; (2) promise to sponsor ordination of the young male transient member; and (3) giving a certain amount of <u>lanpai</u>.

592 It was mentioned in the section on the family in
464 Chapter II that adoption as practiced in Bangchan did not
[597] involve legal registration of the adopted child, and that
[792] maltreatment of adopted children was not infrequent. To sponsor an ordination was in fact not quite as expensive

592 as it might seem to be, for there was a wide range of
464 ordination expenses and the family head naturally tended
792 to arrange one that was not so expensive unless it was for his own son. He might even arrange a joint ordination of
592 which the cost was much reduced. Moreover, most of the cost
464 of the ordination would be covered by the customary contributions made by neighbors. The lampai arrangement, which was nothing but a sophisticated term for wage, was a real concession on the part of the family head, indicating that he really wanted to keep the transient member in the family even at a certain cash expense.

464 The presence of transient family workers and their
592 relatively low remunerations indicated a condition of popu-
466 lation pressure onland. Already, these people had adversely
[160] affected the laboring sector of the village economy because they represented an additional supply of cheap labor. Although they had contributed to a low cost of producing paddy and thus benefited the operators, with the rise of the price of foods which farmers had to buy and with the decline of free food (in the forms of fish and aquatic plants) transient family members may in time become a liability rather than an asset to the family. To be sure, when such a time has arrived, the family would be reluctant to admit a transient member. The trouble, however, is that the cost of maintaining an extra family member is implicit and not readily distinguished by the family. It would thus take some time before the real situation would be recognized.

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182 464 592 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic security, since they might arrange to join some families in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the principal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family, the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their families and thus had managed to prevent their level of living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence. As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by transient family workers.

*243 178 463 621 [592] Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan

Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same period.

When the farm operating families were studied individually, it was found that 181 families had been operating their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating families during the period from 1949 to 1953.

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243 178 463 [311] become investors, traders, and public servant. In 1948, these eight families were operating farms of a combined area of 286 rai, ranging from 20 rai to 80 rai, averaging 36 rai per farm. Seven of these eight families owned rice fields totalling 201 rai, ranging from 5 rai to 80 rai, averaging 29 rai per family owning land. Evidently, it may be said that these seven families deliberately had given up farming in favor of new occupations from which they expected higher remunerations. As for the one family owning no land, the same generalization still holds. This family was operating a 22-rai farm in 1948, a farm of optimum size which could be expected to yield a higher income than any of those operated by the thirteen former operators who had turned farm laborers. The head of this [464] [465] family, nevertheless, got a permanent job in the Bangkok Harbor, a government owned concern, with a salary of more than 7,000 baht annually which is much higher than his former net income from operating a rented farm.

A case has thus been built for the relative unattractiveness of farm operating occupation among a certain sector of farm operators who had shifted to other occupations. This was responsible for the decline of farm operating occupation from 80 per cent of the occupational structure of the village in 1949 to 72 per cent in 1953 (Table 11). If it had not been for the 14 new families branching out from existing families who had taken up farming during the period between 1949 and 1953, the decline would have been more abrupt.

row man. He could not very well be substituted by his younger sister who was also needed to perform the housework. A worker was thus hired for the period of two months -- from the middle of June to the middle of August -- primarily to help in plowing. Phan also partially helped in plowing and harrowing in part of the morning session before he started his work for the Cornell team at nine o'clock.

During the cooperative work season, Chom represented the family in cooperative uprooting and cooperative harvesting, and Phuan in cooperative transplanting, weeding and harvesting. Phan also represented the family in cooperative work scheduled for Saturdays and Sundays when he was free from Cornell duty.

Work records of all workers of this farm were kept by the author throughout the work season from June 4, 1953 to February 14, 1954. At the beginning, the author stayed overnight with the family. Family workers were requested to give accounts of their activities of the day. To facilitate more accurate accounts regarding the time of the work, a clock was given to the family. When family workers became acquainted with the type of information that was needed, Phan, our row man, was assigned to make a daily report on the kinds and time of work done by each worker. Phan's daily report was taken down by the author in the labor schedule specially prepared for the purpose.[3] Later, when Phan's reporting skill was well developed, he was asked to report on the daily labor records only four times a week, usually Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday.

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3. See Appendix B.

243 461 128 Since the farm work usually followed the same pattern for a certain period, it was observed that Phan remembered quite well the time and the kind of work done by each family worker during the past two or even three days. The time of work was recorded [231] to the hearest half-hour. In Tables 35 and 35, labor spent by [464] family workers, piece-workers hired by the family, and buf- [592] faloes, on different steps in rice production was given in man-hours and buffalo-hours. The dates when these various [476] jobs started and ended were also given. It should be noted, however, that labor recorded as spent on cooperative work was actually not spent on the family farm but rather on farms of other cooperative members. This was nevertheless exactly compensated by cooperative work on this farm on several occasions which were not entered in the calculation to avoid error because of duplication.

243 461 221 The data from Tables 35 and 36 may be summarized as follow:

1. Man labor provided by farm staff.

[592] [464] [231] Work started June 4, ended February 14, a total of 248 work days.
Total man-hours spent by farm staff -- 5,478½.

2. Man labor provided by piece-workers.

Work started July 19, ended August 30, a total of 10 work days.
Total man-hours spent by piece-workers -- 229.

3. Animal labor provided by buffaloes.

Work started June 4, ended February 13, a total of 112 work days.
Total buffalo-hours -- 2,119.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

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TABLE 35

SUMMARY OF YEAR ROUND WORK BY CHOM FARM STAFFS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Steps*	Duration: Start	End	Days in work	Man-hrs.
A. Work by Farm Staff				
1. Plowing	June 4	Aug 23	49	918½
2. Harrowing	June 13	Aug 24	28	291
3. Remove weeds after harrow	June 13	Aug 15	25	219½
4. Irrigate and drain	June 4	July 8	21	186½
5. Rolling	June 13	Aug 22	7	42
6. Sow, broadcast	June 18	July 15	13	42½
7. Prepare and repair	July 5	Dec 9	10	106½
8. Prepare bamboo binders	July 17	Aug 27	10	45½
9a. Coop uprooting	July 15	Sept 11	25	127½
9b. Family uprooting	July 17	Sept 8	20	115½
10a. Coop transplanting	July 18	Sept 19	36	267½
10b. Family transplanting	Aug 20	Sept 10	13	125
11. Hauling	July 17	Sept 14	55	733
12. Field inspection	Aug 25	Nov 30	42	87
13a. Care of the plants	July 24	Sept 28	14	114½
13b. Coop weeding	Sept 20	Sept 29	8	86
14. Prepare thresh floor	Nov 29	Jan 27	7	13½
15a. Coop harvesting	Dec 4	Jan 25	44	747½
15b. Family harvesting	Dec 12	Feb 6	18	148½
16. Threshing	Dec 15	Feb 14	43	597
17. Winnowing	Dec 25	Feb 14	9	86½
18. Stacking of straw	Dec 29	Feb 4	2	16
19. Procure grass for buf.	June 14	Nov 27	83	157
20. Supervise coop work	July 22	Jan 24	8	26
21. Entertaining guest workers	July 22	Jan 24	7	158½
Total	June 4	Feb 14	248	5,478½
B. Work by Piece-workers				
[464] 1. Coop uprooting	Aug 18	Aug 25	6	24
2. Uprooting	Aug 23	Aug 30	2	45
3. Transplanting	July 19	Aug 2	5	160
Total	July 19	Aug 30	10	229
Grand total	June 4	Feb 14	248	5,707½

* See details in the section on steps in rice production.

*243 476 a "ngarn" (lit., work), which is one hundred bundles of seedlings uprooted in case of uprooting, one-fourth of a rai transplanted in case of transplanting, and also one-fourth of a rai harvested in case of harvesting.

The author followed closely every cooperative uprooting which Chom participated. It was found that this operator had bilateral obligations with 20 other members who during the 1953 season had uprooted for him a total of 41 units or 4,100 bundles of seedlings -- 1,400 bundles on July 22, 1,100 bundles on August 3, and 1,600 bundles on August 15. Chom had to make good the reciprocal work of this same amount for all his guest workers according to their individual shares of contribution to him. At the end the records show, however, that Chom himself had contributed only 28 units or had uprooted only 2,800 bundles for fellow members. Although his son Phuan had contributed six more units, the family was still short of seven units. As it actually happened, Chom was away from the village on a house building work in Dhonburi from August 18 to 25. During this period of eight days he was supposed to participate in seven cooperative uprootings. His only substitute, Phuan, could not do the work for him for Phuan was also tied up in cooperative transplanting. Chom therefore arranged for a professional piece-worker to do the seven cooperative uprootings he was committed to at the going rate of 13 baht per 100 bundles uprooted. [464] [465]

Records show that at the end Chom's contribution to each of his twenty fellow members was individually equal to the

243 help he received from each of them (the work by Phuan and the
476 piece-worker was considered as Chom's contribution), the exception being the cases with A and B. Chom had contributed three units to A, receiving only two units from the man; but he had received four units from B, giving him only three units of work. This was settled by transferring Chom's credit with A to B which is the general practice.

243 There were two professional piece-workers among Chom's
476 twenty fellow members. In fact, there were four such piece-
464 workers in our records of this group of cooperative uprooting, but Chom was bilaterally obligated to only two of them. Perhaps it is necessary to mention at this juncture that each member of a cooperative group had within that group their own circle of members among whom he had bilateral obligatory work. Chom, for example, had a circle of twenty-one within that group of twenty-four. We got this number of twenty-four by listing all the names of the persons (representing families) to whom each of the twenty-one members of Chom's circle had bilateral obligatory work. Most of these names overlapped, and the composite number was found to be twenty-four. It is seen then that the number of members of both a circle and a group depended entirely on which member was used as the basis. It would be misleading, therefore, to state the Mu Sapan Yao Cooperative Uprooting had twenty-four members, for no real size of a cooperative work group exists because of the overlapping nature of various circles within it.

All the four professional piece-workers in this

243 cooperative uprooting were exceptionally good workers, and
476 this was the reason why they were approached when help was
464 needed. These men accumulated work credits and utilized them when they were contracted by operators who had not enough family labor to uproot their seedlings. Chom, for example, after utilizing his own family labor as well as all the work credits he earned in cooperative uprooting, still was in short of labor to uproot his latest varieites on August 22 in which ten units of work were needed for the estimated 1,000 bundles
[465] to be uprooted. He, therefore, contracted Sa, a fellow member, to do the job for 130 baht. On that date, Sa called upon ten members including himself to uproot Chom's seedlings in his name. So the same old faces appeared on Chom's farm. Outwardly, this looked like an ordinary cooperative uprooting on the mutual help basis. In reality, however, it was a business deal out of which Sa received cash payment from Chom who in turn received labor. Our records show that Sa had another earlier contract to uproot 1,700 bundles for another operator, and the same method of recruiting labor among fellow cooperative members was used. Since our records show only cooperative uprootings conducted among this group of twenty-four members, it was possible that Sa might have a few more contracts which did not appear in the records.

Ordinarily, farmers do not like to be obligated to professional piece-workers, for they might later be asked to work in return for somebody they do not like. In fact, there was some talk in 1953 among farm operating members on the

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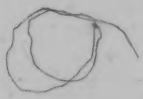

*243 476 464 possible ways to eliminate the participation of professional piece-workers. From the standpoint of professional piece-workers, however, to get oneself admitted into a cooperative group is a boon to their respective families for job opportunity would be assured to them. This is the reason why Sa was able to earn 2,000 baht in 1953 while most of his fellow piece-workers' earnings were as low as 300 or 600 baht.

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*243 476 The same principle of labor reciprocity held in the other kinds of cooperative work, which also involved cash payment in the end to professional piece-workers who served as clearing agents to settle the balances of work credits. Generally speaking, such balances were more in case of cooperative transplanting than cooperative uprooting, and the same were even higher in the case of cooperative harvesting. This was to be expected because transplanting involved about double the amount of labor spent on uprooting, and harvesting alone required about a tenth more than the combined labor requirement of these two operations.

*243 461 476 Chart 1 shows both man-labor spent by Chom farm staffs and man-labor spent on Chom Farm, the former being represented by the solid line and the latter by the dotted line. On the basis of equal reciprocity of labor, these two should be technically equal in total magnitude. They differed, however, in their daily distribution. It is seen that the two lines coincide during the periods from June 4 to July 14, from September 30 to December 3, and from January 26 to February 4, when there was no cooperative activity. During the periods from July 15

*243 433 water conditions is also a major factor militating against investment on fertilizer. As it happens, therefore, fertilization does not prevail in the decision making of Bangchan operators.

If the operator has any positive role at all in the production plan, it is in the selection of rice varieties. This topic has already been dealt with in the section on labor adjustment devices of the preceding chapter.

*243 433 423 Finally, one of the most important organizational decisions involves the choice of the size of the farm. It has been observed that poverty in agriculture is as much a problem of farm size as of any other single factor. Most frequently, farm size is spoken of in terms of acres -- the land input. Although this measure is generally not sufficient, it serves the purpose quite well in single-crop farming areas such as Bangchan and all other rice areas in this country. In this study, therefore, farm size will be expressed in rai (two-fifths of an acre) devoted to rice.

Generally speaking, if the Bangchan operator is free * [464 592] to choose the farm size that suits him best, his decision will be based almost entirely on the size of labor force under his command, which in turn depends largely on the size of his family labor. As it happens, most operators are not *243 free to do so. It was mentioned in the section on land tenure 427 of Chapter III that it was only the landlord-operator group, 464 actually 11 out of a total of 216 farm operators in Bangchan, 423 that had demonstratively shown sign of land saturation and

thus could freely choose the proper size of their farms.

To be sure, some of the other 205 operators in the land scarce group could rent in enough additional parcels to make an efficient-sized farm. The preliminary study in 1948-49, however, reveals that of 104 farms under study 87 were under-sized. The point we want to make in this section is that there are considerations other than economic interest which preclude the attainment of a most favorable farm size by some of these land scarce operators. In the study of labor utilization on Chom Farm, it was seen that preparation of the fields was finished long before the deadline, indicating that the land input could be increased or labor input could be decreased. If Chom wanted to rent in an additional parcel of five rai, the problem presented would not be simple. In the first place, all rice land in the village had been filled up, so Chom's additional parcel had to be one that had been operated by a neighbor of his. Unless this neighbor had expressed an intention to quit this parcel, conscience alone would prevent Chom from outbidding the other person for the parcel. Second, although lease of land was on a one-year basis, in practice the landlord usually rented his lands continuously to the same tenants. If the landlord wanted to operate a certain parcel himself, the former tenant might think that it was reasonable enough to abandon the parcel. But it was inconceivable that he should leave the parcel so that another tenant could operate it. Third, the additional parcel should not be too far away

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from the homelot because much time and energy would be wasted in daily walking to the field.

It would seem, then, that most rice farm operators had little opportunity to obtain a farm size they thought best and had to accept what was due them. Thus, their role in choosing the size of business, which is the most important role, is also limited.

2. Limited role in management: Inasmuch as management refers to the function of putting the scheme into operation, Bangchan operators certainly have a large part to play. A good rice crop depends largely on the relationship between the height of the young plant and the rising water level. Since the rise of water level is highly seasonal, depending on local rains as well as rains elsewhere that affect the general water level, scheduling the farm work and seeing to it that the schedule is followed becomes a most important function of the farm operator.

Management, however, refers also to the function of making those adjustments in the business which are necessary in order to obtain the maximum economic returns from the farm business as a whole. Inasmuch as this latter function is concerned, the operator's role has been limited as in the case of the organizational function. As previously stated, under the present stage of technological development in rice production in this country, not only the points of diminishing return of both labor and capital (farm equipment, at the present state of technical development in the village)

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TABLE 42

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL TIME LABOR FORCE OF 104 FARMS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948

Condition of Regular Labor Force	Number of Farms	Number of Workers	Adjusted* Areas	Adjusted Rai Per Man
			rai	rai
Farms without hired laborer				
One family worker	8	8	131.75	16.5
Two family workers	28	56	497.50	8.9
Three family workers	25	75	646.25	8.6
Four family workers	20	80	747.50	9.3
Five family workers	10	50	487.25	9.7
Six family workers	--	--	--	--
Seven family workers	1	7	75.50	10.8
Eight family workers	1	8	83.00	10.4
Nine family workers	--	--	--	--
Ten family workers	1	10	107.50	10.8
Sub-total	94	295	2,776.25	--
Average	1	3.1	29.50	9.4
Farms with hiredlaborers				
a. With one hired laborer				
One family worker	1	2	58.50	29.2
Two family workers	5	15	177.50	11.8
Five family workers	2	12	108.00	9.0
b. With two hired laborers				
One family worker	1	3	70.00	23.3
c. With three hired laborers				
Two family workers	1	5	80.00	16.0
Sub-total	10	37	494.00	--
Average	1	3.7	49.50	13.4
Grant total	104	332	3,270.25	--
Average	1	3.2	31.50	9.8

* An "adjusted" rai equals one transplanted rai or two broadcast rai. Cultivation of one rai by the broadcasting method requires roughly only one-half the labor involved in the transplanting method.

243 474 464 Some farmers had artificially reduced their operational cost by utilizing free labor of transient members of the family, who would not stay long if they were not adequately taken care of. These farmers would have to resort to pieceworkers or hired laborers when transient members decided to leave them.

243 434 655 The farm price of paddy was adversely affected by the government control of rice export. It was estimated that huge profits of no less than 100 per cent had been made each year by the government through its monopoly over and later control of rice export and foreign exchange control. This will be dealt with separately later in this chapter.

243 474 423 Although the average size of farm of 30.7 rai for Bangchan can be favorably compared to the average of 23.1 rai for the Central Plain, this does not mean that size of farm is not a problem contributing to low returns from rice. [444] It was pointed out earlier that there was a condition of disguised unemployment among Bangchan operators. Small size elsewhere simply indicates the widespread nature of the problem of disguised unemployment among farm operators in the Central Plain.

243 434 Limited earning opportunity for incomes from sources other than rice is due to the fact that at the present stage of technological development no other crop can be profitably grown in rotation with rice because of agronomic limitations.

243 434 221 The inundation period from the middle of September to early December, during which time no work is needed on

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The lean time from the middle of February to the end of May is devoted by some villagers, mostly young men, to wage earning outside the village. The size of this temporary labor migration depends on the job opportunities, and these job opportunities depend largely on personal contact. Seasonal off farm jobs are: (a) crude carpentry work usually on nonpermanent construction where cheap temporary labor is preferred; and (b) plantation work in the sugar cane region of Cholburi some eighty miles east of Bangkok.

Inherent Excess of Expenses over Incomes

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The prevalence of debts in the form of credit purchases among Bangchan farmers indicates an excess of expenses over incomes. It has been shown that most cash loans were sought to clear high interest bearing credit purchase accounts, although some were for productive purposes. Even in this latter case, it has been observed that farmers usually borrowed no more than an amount that was immediately needed together with cash on hand to pay for the capital investment. This means that after such capital purchases there was less cash for the household and operating expenses, and so there would be a higher credit account to be settled in the following harvest.

Low incomes coupled with relatively high expenses leave little or no room for internal savings.

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The situation is aggravated by an increasing rate of consumption relative to the ability to produce. While

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434 among these contributing factors is population pressure.

Disguised unemployment in the case of farm operators
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161 and their family workers and actual unemployment in case of
434 farm laborers indicates a condition of over-population in
464 Bangchan in the sense that a certain part of its population can be removed without materially reducing total production in the area.

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226 In view of a continually decreasing supply of fish,
433 it may be said that the situation has reached the point where
262 it not only affects the per capita income of Bangchan residents but actually exerts pressure on means of subsistence. There are several indications of decreasing supply of fish and other marine animals in the village. First, it is the consensus of opinion gathered by our daily informal talk with villagers non of whom was found to hold a contrary view. Second, a passage in our 1948 log, "X is very lazy. Everybody here in Bangchan catches shrimps and makes his own shrimp paste. He alone does not catch shrimps even though he is among the poorest," indicates that purchase of shrimp paste was in 1948 an exception rather than a rule. In 1952, however, it was found that a total of 22.7 kilograms of shrimp paste consumed in a year by an average family, 6 kilograms, or more than a quarter, was purchased. In this latter year, 83 baht worth of fish and 54 baht of fish sauce were purchased by an average family in addition to shrimp paste as against negligible amounts for the same items in 1948 (we did not conduct a systematic consumption

226 made that any program of fish raising in a closed pond, no
654 matter how effective it may be, should not preclude the need for conservation of fish naturally existing in the open canals.

243 It has been pointed out that Bangchan operators
226 produce 52 per cent of the things they need for ordinary
433 consumption. Thus, rice growing may be seen as a farming-
474 to-reduce-cost enterprise where maximization of profit ceases to be the primary motive of production. It has been pointed out also that rice growing is a losing concern to many operators (in terms of labor income and operator's labor earnings), but the loss has been compensated by the privilege to fish
[146] which is open to all village residents. Since the amount of fish caught constitutes the main and probably the only source of protein intake and at the same time a considerable share in the diet of villagers, continually decreasing supply of fish therefore underscores the immediate need for an effective program for fish conservation as a means to prevent the standard of living of the villagers from falling below the minimum level of subsistence.

161 Over-population in an area of limited job opportuni-
464 ties naturally creates an over supply of labor, which in
465 turn results in low wages. This is further complicated by a wide variation of individual earning from labor of from two thousand baht annually to almost nothing, the latter being the case of transient members of farm operating families.

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243 Finally, it has been pointed out that the kind of
161 training and the type of financial preparation given to young
178 married couples have served only to confirm Bangchan people
464 to their preference for rice cultivation. This together with limited job opportunities open to them elsewhere have tended to keep the villagers on the farms, and thus have tended to regenerate the condition of population pressure in Bangchan.

Lack of Effective Control and Regulationof Water Supply

243 Another contributing factor is the lack of effective
458 control and regulation of water supply, which has caused annual fluctuation of rice crop. On the whole, this crop fluctuation is not as high as is the case in most of rice
[731] growing areas elsewhere. Famine certainly has not been known in Bangchan. Nevertheless, it is a certain sector of rice growers -- the marginal farmers with limited ability to adjust or with relatively little command over capital -- who are seriously affected by annual fluctuation of rice crop.

243 When affluent farmers have a poor crop, their credit
426 purchase accounts may go up beyond the normal level, but they are usually in a position to clear this type of high interest bearing debts at the end of the business year by their net cash incomes or at least by securing loans with lower rates of interest to pay the accounts. On the other hand, marginal farmers are not in a position to seek low interest bearing loans. In case of crop failure, therefore,